A Discourse of the Empire OF GERMANY,

And of the

Election and Crowning the *Emperours* and *Kings* of the *Romans*:

AS ALSO

Of the Colledge of Electors, their particular Interests and Concernments:

WITH

Reasons why the present Emperour was lately chosen. Being an abstract of the *Roman* Empire both East and West:

AS ALSO

Of the Aurea Bulla *or great Imperial Charter, and how the* Roman *Eagles flew over the Alps to* Germany, *and nestled there now neer one thousand years.*

By *James Howell*, Esq.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Davies*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Signe of the Bible over against the little north-doore of *Pauls* Church, 1659.

The Summ and ſubſtance of the enſuing Diſcours as it is divided to ſeven *Sections*.

THe proeme, ſhewing the Motives that induc'd the Author to undertake this task.

The firſt Section,

Treats of the firſt *Riſe* of the *Roman* Empire, and of the ſun-

dry Rotations, or Retrogradations of Goverment that hapned in *Rome*, &c.

The second Section,

Treats of the *Septemvirat*, or the Electors of the *Roman* Empire, their primitive Constitution, and Power; with their precedence, and offices, &c.

The third Section,

Treats of the stile, and title of *Emperour*, or *Cæsar*, and of the King of the *Romans*, &c.

The fourth Section,

Treats of the Diet, or Imperial Parlement, and the Members ther-

therof, with the Division of *Germany*, and the strength of the Empire, &c.

The fift Section,

Consists of a parralel twixt the Empire pass'd, and the present, with the causes first and last of the declination therof, &c.

The sixt Section,

Treats of the enlargement of the Colledg of Electors, from seven, to an *Octumvirat*; And of the Contest that's now 'twixt the Count Palatin of the *Rhin*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, touching the Vicarship of the Empire, &c.

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The seventh Section,

Consists of som reflexes made upon the present conjuncture of things, and the political Condition of *Germany*, with a conjecture who is likely to be King of the *Romans*, and consequently the next Emperour, *&c.*

A Corollary.

Pauca in multa diffundere
est opus Ingenii,

Multa in pauca digerere
est opus Artis.

A DISCOURS OF THE EMPIRE, IN A LETTER

Sent lately to a

Noble Personage.

My Lord,

He Election of a King of the *Romans*, and consequently of a Western *Emperour*, being now the Gran Busines in agitation, and wherupon the eyes not only of all *Christendom*,

but of other Princes (as well *Turk* as *Tartar*) are more earnestly fix'd than at other times, because of so long a vacancy, and a kind of demurr; As also for the opposition that *France*, with all her confederats, are like to make for secluding, and putting by the House of *Austria* (especially the young King of *Hungary*) wherin the *German* Empire hath continued above two hundred and o lde yeers.

And wheras that after som loose extemporall communications lately upon this subject, your Lordshipp desir'd much to be inform'd of the present estate and interests of *Germany*, together with the power and primitive constitution of the *Septemvirat*, or the *Colledg of Electors*, with other reflexes upon that point. Being returned home, I fell a rummaging my old papers, and such remarques that I gather'd when I was employ'd in some parts of the *Empire*, and to comply with your Lordshipps *desires* (which shall

shall alwaies be as binding to me as *Decrees*) I have digested into this short ensuing Discourse, consisting of seven *Sections*.

The first Section.

Treating of the first Rise of the Roman *Empire, and the sundry Rotations, or Retrogradations of Governments that hapned in* Rome, *&c.*

NOw for a cleerer illustration of things, and a more regular proceeding, it is not amiss to fetch in matters from their fundamenta's (for the furthest way about is sometimes the neerest way home specially in the *reserches of Truth.*) And to do this, we must go to *Rome*, a City that hath had

had as many ſtrange traverſes of fortune, and turns of Goverment, as any other upon Earth, having bin eight ſeveral times raviſh'd and ranſack'd by ſundry warlike Nations. Firſt by *Brennus* the bold Britain, then by *Alaric* the Goth, afterwards by *Genſericus* the Vandale, then twice by *Totila* the Hun, after him by the Moores and Saracens, then by three Chriſtian Emperours, *viz.* by *Henry* the fourth, *Otho* the third, and *Charles* the fift when his General the Duke of *Bourbon* breath'd his laſt in ſcaling her walls, (and ſhe was lately like to receive an ill-favour'd ſhock by the Duke of *Parma*) yet ſhe never fell *ſans recource* as they ſay, or was ever layed ſo flat upon her back, but ſhe recovered herſelf, and rays'd up her creſt again, whence it may be inferr'd, that an extraordinary Providence, and Tutelar *Genius* doth attend that *Citty*; 'Tis tru that the tranſlating of the Imperial Court by *Conſtantine*, to *Bizantium* (which he chriſtned afterwards with his own *name*) was fatal to *Rome*, when the

glory of the *Tyber* and *Tyrrhene* Sea
pass'd over to the *Hellespont*, yet a *Spi-*
ritual Head preserv'd her still in some
lustre; In so much that when the *Pope*
came to be her Master, she might have
bin sayed to have bin reduc'd to her
first Principles, and to have pass'd
from one *Shepheard* to another,
viz. from *Romulus*, to *Sylvester*.
But ther were a world of vicissitudes
and revolutions of goverments inter-
ven'd, and pass'd between; Her pri-
mitive, and original way of Ruling
was by Kings, but, after a hundred
and forty yeers continuance, she sur-
fetted upon that, which surfett may
be sayed to have proceeded from the
Peeples wantonesse rather than from
Tarquins lust; Then, she was govern'd
awhile by *Consulls*, so call'd a *Consulendo*
carrying a memento of their duty in
their names; Then followed the *De-*
cemvirs who were put down for the
same *vice* that destroyed the *Kings*;
After that, the Supremary was delated
to two *Tribunes*; Then it revolv'd to
Consulls, then to *Tribunes* again, but
more

more than *two*, which lasted a good tract of time above *seventy* yeers, then came *Consuls* in again the third time, after that Dictators, untill *Caius Iulius Cæsars* time who was the first perpetuall Dictator, and a little after the first *Emperour*, though it cost him dear, for he might be sayed to have *cimented* the foundation of the *Roman Empire* with his own *bloud* being murther'd in the Senat by small contemptible tools, yet it remain'd in his progeny to six descents, *viz.* to *Domitius Nero*.

Thus after so many rotations or retrogradations of governments, and a kind of cushion dance of several kind of Rulers, the *Imperial* was Establish-ed at last, and the successive Emperours were us'd to be chosen by the *Senat*, and then saluted by the Army; But afterwards the *Legionary* Soldiers & Pretorian bands made Emperours *sub hasta* in the field, and *Galba* was the first who was chosen so, and that with the consent of the *Senat*; now, it was the most unpolitique act that ever

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the Roman *Senat* committed, which prov'd so fatal to so many of the following Emperours who held not their *security* as much as their *lifes* from the *Soldiers*, which took them away at plesure; for after that the Election pass'd from the *Senat* to the *Sword*, ther were above thirty Emperours that were put to *violent* deaths, and som of them very tragical, fower murthered themselfs, many also of those that were adopted *Cæsars*, and design'd to succeed in the Empire were untimely made away, being *rays'd to that pitch that they might perish the sooner*, as an Author sayes.

But to go more punctually to work we will muster up here most of those *Emperours* that came to immature and violent deaths; *Iulius Cæsar* was assassinated in the *Senat*. *Octavius* the first *Augustus* (called so *ab augendo Imperium*, from enlarging the Territories of the Empire) was made away by his wife *Livia*; *Tiberius* by *Macro*; *Caligula* by *Cassius Chereas*; *Claudius* poyson'd by his wife *Agrippina*; *Nero* and

Otho

Otho slew themselfs; *Galba* and *Vitellius* were done away by the Soldiers; *Domitian* by *Stephanus*; *Commodus* by *Letus*, and *Electus*; *Pertinax* and *Iulianus* by the Prætorian bands; *Caracalla* by *Macrinus* command; *Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander*, *Maximinus*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinns* by the Soldiers; *Hostilianus* by *Gallus* and *Æmilianus*, and they by the Legions; *Valerianus* died in *Parthia*; *Florianus* waas ccessary to his own death; *Aurelianus* murther'd by his own meniall servants; *Gallienus*, *Quintillus*, *Tacitus* and *Probus* by the militia, &c.

Now, that which heighned the Spirits of the Soldiery to such insolences, was the largesses, and encrease of salary, that the Prætorian bands us'd to receave from the new Emperour, which pernicious kind of bounty was begun first by *Claudius Cæsar*, and is now practised by the *Turk*: for evry new *Sultan* useth to enhance the pay of the *Spahies*, and *Ianizaries* to so many aspers more for fear of mutinieng, which in time may be the bane of the

Ottoman

Ottoman Empire, for such hath bin the presumption allready of the sayed *Ianizaries* of late yeers that they have murther'd two of their *Emperours* in lesse than five and twenty yeers.

But in the *Roman* Empire the military bands came to such an exorbitancy of power, that somtimes they did prostitute, and put the Empire to sale by publique outcry, as we read how *Sulpitianus* offerd twenty *Sestertium* (which are neer upon eight pounds sterling apeece) to evry Soldier, but *Iulianus* rays'd the market higher, and out-bad him; But *Constantine* the great (the first Christian Emperour and a *Britain* born) found out the policy to regulat, & lessen the Prætorian bands, till at last he quite casheerd them, at least reduc'd them to such a nomber that they could do no hurt.

The removal of the Imperial Court to *Constantinople*, though it prov'd advantagious to the Bishop of *Rome*, who had the Citty transferr'd unto him by way of a pious donation from *Constantine* about his departure from *Italy* to

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the *Levant*, as the Church Annals affirm, though some by way of drollery, and derogation to the *Pope* do say, that he hath the same right to *Rome*, as *Venice* hath to the dominion of the *Adriatique Gulph*, and that they are both inserted in one patent, though that patent cannot be found upon any record; I say though this removall was an advantage to the Bishop of *Rome*, yet it prov'd very prejudiciall to *Italy* in general, and to all the Western parts of the Empire, for many rough-hewn Northern Nations, that desir'd to come neerer the *Sun*, took the advantage hereby to rush in, not only to *Italy*, and harasse her so often, but like so many swarms of Locusts they cover'd other Countreys, (And some fear'd the like of the late *Swedish* Army, had they prosper'd in *Poland*) The *Huuns* took such firm footing that they gave the name to *Hungary*; The *Longobards* to *Insubria*, and the territoties about *Milan*; The *Goths* and *Vandales* piercing the very heart of *France* over-

overcame *Spain*, and denominated *Andaluzia*, Insomuch that the present King of *Spain* doth acknowledg himself to be *de la sangre de los Godos*, to descend from the Goths, wherby som wold inferr that he is a *German* not only by extraction from the House of *Austria*, but also from the *Gothique* race, who were a branch of the *Teutons*, or *Germans*, taking the word in the largest sense; but more properly may *Germany* challenge the *French*, and *English* to be her Children, the first comming from the Territories of *Franconia*, the other from the lower Circle of *Saxony* wherof they bear the names (*Saissons*) among the *Welsh* and *Irish* to this day.

But to proceed from the main subject, the Eastern part of the Roman Empire bore up many ages after *Constantine* with som lustre in the Levant, though the Northwest parts suffred many Eclipses, being so pittifully dilacerated, and torn by the fury of forein Nations; Now the chiefest cause therof may be ascrib'd to the remotenes

motenes of the Emperours perſon at *Conſtantinople*, who by reaſon of ſo incommunicable a diſtance could not reach a timely hand to aſſiſt them with auxiliaries; But about the yeer eight hundred a new kind of auſpicious ſtar appeer'd in the *Weſt*, which was *Charlemain*, whom the *Germans* do claym to be their Compatriot, though they go a great way back and fetch him from *Pharamond*, or the firſt race of the Kings who invaded *Gallia*, and by way of conqueſt call'd it *France*.

Charlemain was the Grand-child of *Charles Martell*, who being *Maire of the Palace*, or chief Steward and Surintendent of the Kings Court gott his Son *Pepin* to be crown'd King of *France* over the head of *Childeric* his liege lord and maſter, *Martel* giving out that he did not follow the *ambition* of his heart, but the *inſpirations* of heaven in this act; So the *Scotts* ſtories tell us that the Family of the *Stewards* came to be Kings of *Scotland* by taking their Surnames from their office, for as

Charles

Charles Martell was in *France*, so the first of them was *Steward* of the Kings Court in *Scotland*.

Pepin though a little man did great exploits, for he cross'd the *Alpes*, and recover'd *Lombardy* where a race of *Goths* had bin Kings above 200 yeers, And at his return to *France* conferr'd the *Exarchatship*, or Vicegerency of *Italy* upon the Bishop of *Rome*.

Charlemain his Son did higher achievments, for he clammer'd ore the *Pyreneans* and debell'd the *Saracens* in *Spain*, discomfited the *Saxons*, and confirm'd the conquest of *Italy*; so that he was solemnly saluted Emperour of the West at *Rome* by the general voice, and wonderfull acclamations of the people, and so confirm'd by the Popes benediction (*Leo* the 4th. on Christmas day.

Nicephorus in *Constantinople* storm'd extremely at first ther should be another Emperour besides himself, alledging that he was the sole *Roman* Emperour, and accordingly us'd to send his *Exarques*, or Vice-

royes

royes to govern *Italy*, but not knowing how to remedy it, he complied at last with *Charlemagne* who then kept his Court in *Germany*, where he died, and was buried at *Aquisgrave*, leaving *Ludovicus* his son to succeed him, who partitioning the Empire afterwards twixt his three Sonns did wonderfully enervat and enfeeble it, as a great River cutt out into many armes, and sluces must needs grow weaker and shallower in her first bed.

Now, though *Charlemain* was an extraordinary heroique, and a Magnanimous gallant man as his actions tell us, yet his children for fower descents together did strangely degenerat, and prov'd but poor spirited men, His Son *Lewis* was call'd the *Gentle* for his *soft* nature, *Charles* the Bald was of a baser alloy than hee, *Lewis* the stuttring inferior to both, *Charles* the grosse the last Emperour and King of *France* died a most disastrous death; After him the Empire was soly devolv'd to the *Germans*; *Charlemain* and his Dependants enjoy'd it

118 yeers, then it came to the House of *Saxony* who held it 117 yeers, The House of *Suevia* 110, other families (whetof the House of the *Count Palatine* of the Rhin, and of *Nassaw* were sometimes) held the Empire 112 yeers, untill it came to the House of *Austria*, who have held it longer than any one *Family* ever did.

Now, ther is a remarquable Tradition how the House of *Austria* came to that comble of greatnes, which they report thus.

Rodulph Earl of *Habspurg* returning homeward from hunting one day overtook a Priest that had the Eucharist under his habit, comming from visiting a sick body, The Earl finding he was tyr'd alighted, and help'd the Priest a horsback, and holding the bridle in his hand wayted upon him as a lacquay till he came to the Church, and replac'd the Host upon the Altar, The Priest sang an extraordinary Masse (where the Earl devoutly attended all the while) and pronouncing the Benediction at the

end

end, he crosſ'd the Earl, ſaying that for ſo ſignal, and a ſweet Act of pie-ty, His *Houſe* ſhold be one of the grea-teſt, and moſt glorious Families that ever was upon Earth, which prov'd tru, for a while after not only the *German* Empire, but the Eaſt, and Weſt Indies, with all the Dominions of *Spain*, wherof ſome are the tother ſide of the world, came to that Family.

And now, my Lord, I will proceed to the *Septemvirat*, or Colledg of *Elect-ors* (wherof I promis'd an account in the beginning) whoſe *Creture* the Em-perour may be ſayed to be, for tis their breath that makes him.

The second Section,

Touching the Septemvirat, *or Electors of the* Roman *Emperour, their primitive Constitution, and power with their precedence, and offices, &c.*

FOr two hundred yeers after *Charlemain*, who was the Restaurator of the Occidental parts of the *Roman* Monarchy (which had bin so pittifully shatter'd by the irruption of sundry barbarous people, as was sayed before) and therfore meritoriously stil'd, the *first Emperour* of the *West*, I say

say for a long time ther was no certain or regular way of *Election*, and the customs was that the Emperour regnant us'd to nominate, & recommend his Son, or neereſt Kinſman to the *German* Princes, but in the yeerabout 1000 after the Incarnation, *Rome* began to rayſe up her creſt, and bruſſle, by redemanding and challenging the Election of the Emperour, alledging, 'twas a prerogative of Hers *de jure antiquo*; The raking up of the *aſhes* of this old Right, was like to *kindle* a great fyre on both ſide of the Hills, for the *Italian* Princes ſtuck to Her in the claym; But *Otho* the third a prudent Prince found a way to prevent it, by procuring a Coſen of his to be created *Pope* by the name of *Gregory* the fift, who being a *German* born, was ſo favorable and indulgent of his own Countrey, that he confirm'd the chooſing of the *VVeſtern Emperour* to the *German* Nation, but the *Romans*, with ſome *Italian* Princes ſtomaching heerat, they depos'd *Gregory*, and choſe the Biſhop of *Placentia Pope* in his place,

by the title of *John* the ninth: *Otho* took this in so great indignation, that he suddenly rays'd an Imperial Army, clammer'd or'e the *Alpes*, and made his way by the point of the Sword towards *Rome*, which open'd her Gates unto him without much difficulty, so he seaz'd upon the person of the new *Pope*, disoculated that counterfait light of the Church by plucking out his eyes, and replac'd *Gregory* the fift his Cousin in Saint *Peters* chair with triumph.

Otho being victoriously return'd to *Germany*, convoqu'd the chiefest Princes, and propos'd unto them the multiplicity of inconveniences, encumbrance, and causes of confusion, that the incertain, and unestablish'd way of choosing an Emperour, and his immediat Successor, was subject unto, therfore he desir'd them to consider of a more regular way of *Election*; so after many mature deliberations, and bandings of opinions they fell upon settling a *Septemvirat*, *viz.* seven Princes, in whom a plenary power

power shold be invested, to elect an Emperour, and his next Successor; Herupon the Colledg of *Electors* was founded, and constituted, but they must be all within the *German pale*; Addresses were made to the *Pope* about this business, who not only approv'd herof, but was ready to confirm the Act, provided that three of the sayed Electors were *Eccleſiaſtiques*; So the Western Empire was made purely *Elective*, giving encouragements therby for Princes of Vertue and merit to aspire.

Herupon the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Archbishop of *Collen*, and the Archbishop of *Tryers* were chosen for the three *Spiritual*, and for the *ſecular* the *Palſgrave of the Rhin*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and in case their suffrages were equal, the Duke of *Bohemia* (made about 80 yeers after *King*) was chosen to have a session among them, and whom he nam'd of those two that they had elected, shold be *Emperour*, so that the *Bohemian* might be call'd rather an *Um-*

pire than an *Elector* in these transactions.

This great Act was solemnly voted, and enroll'd in the Imperial Chamber, and som hundred of yeers after 'twas ratified and fortified by the famous *Aurea Bulla*; the Golden Bull, who regulated matters more punctually touching the Offices, the Precedencies, and other particulars reflecting upon the sayed *Electors*. The Archbishop of *Mentz* was made High-Chancellor of *Germany*, He of *Colen* High-Chancellor of *Italy*, and he of *Tryers* High-Chancellor of *France*; The Duke of *Saxony* was made *sacri imperii Archi-Marascallus*, Lord high Marshall of the sacred Empire; The *Count Palatin* of the *Rhin sacri imperii Archi-dapifer*, Lord high *Sewer* of the sacred Empire; The Marquis of *Brandenburg* was made *sacri imperii Archicamerarius*, Lord high *Chamberlain* of the sacred Empire; The Duke (now *King* of *Bohemia*) was made *sacri imperii Archipincerna*, Lord chief

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Buttler of the ſacred Empire, all which offices are contracted in this tetraſtique.

Moguntinenſis, Trierenſis, Colonienſis,
Quilibet Imperii ſit Cancellarius ho-
(rum;
Et Palatinus Dapifer, Dux portitor
(enſis,
Marchio Præpoſitus cameræ, Pincerna
(Bohemus.

Thus in *Engliſh*,

Mentz, Colen, Tryers, let theſe Three
Each of Them an Arch-Chancellor bee,
Duke, bear the Sword; Count, the firſt Diſh take up;
Marquis look to the Chamber, *Boheme* the Cup.

So the ſecular Electors are compos'd of a King, a Duke, a Marquis, and a Count.

Upon an occaſion of a new choiſe, theſe with the Eccleſiaſtiques were to be ſummon'd by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to aſſemble within *three months* time, and to be garded by the Countrey as they paſſed along, but their retinue was not to exceed *two hundred* horſe, wherof ther ſhold be but *fifty* armed.

Being conven'd, the *Eccleſiaſtical Electors* were to put their hands only on their *breaſts*, the *Secular Princes* ſolemnly upon the *Book*, to chooſe a fit *Imperial head* for Chriſtendome, and they were to do this within the compaſs of *thirty* daies, and not to go out of *Frankford*, or the place where they mett in the interim, & *Jury-like* to have no other nutriment but bread and water after the expiration of the ſayed *thirty dayes*.

The choice being made by the Aſſembly of Electors, the new Emperour, according to the tenure of the *golden Bull* the *gran: Charter* of the Empire (ſo call'd becauſe 'twas confirm'd by the

the *Pope*) is saluted by the Title of *King* of the *Romans*, and not Emperour till he be crown'd with three Crowns, *viz.* with the *golden* Crown representing *Rome*, with a *sylver* Crown representing *Germany*, and with an *Iron* Crown representing *Lombardy*, which ceremony useth to be perform'd at *Aquisgrave* for all the three places, But he is not to be call'd *Augustus* till confirm'd by the Pope.

At the first day of the Emperours Inauguration, the foresayed *Electors* were to give their personal attendance in the Emperours Court, but now they are dispens'd withall to do it by proxy.

Before the Palace Gate ther us'd to stand a heap of Oats to the breast of a Horse, then comes the Duke of *Saxony* mounted, having in his hand a sylver wand, and a sylver measure stood by, which was to weigh two hundred Marks, he fills the measure, sticking his wand afterwards in the remainder, and so goes to attend the Emperour; The three *Arch-bishopps*

say

ſay Grace; The Marquis of *Brandenburg* comes alſo on horſ-back with a ſylver baſon of water, of the value of twelve Marks, and a clean towell which, being alighted, he holds to the Emperour; Then comes the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhin* a horſ-back alſo, and being alighted he carries fower diſhes of meat, ev'ry diſh of the value of three Marks; Then the King of *Bohemia* comes with a napkin on his arm, with a cover'd cupp of twelve Marks which he preſents.

Touching the precedence of the *Electors* among themſelfs one may judg of it by the maner of their ſeſſion with the Emperour, when he ſitts in Majeſty, which is thus.

The Arch-biſhop of *Tryers* high Chancellor of *France* ſitts over againſt the Emperour; The Arch-biſhop of *Moguntia* or *Mentz*, as high Chancelor of *Germany* ſitts on the right hand of the Emperour; The Arch-biſhop of *Collen* on the left hand; The King of *Bohemia* hath his ſeat on the right hand of the Arch-biſhop of *Mentz*, and next him

him the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhin*; The Duke of *Saxony* fitts on the left hand of the Arch-biſhop of *Collen*, and by him the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*.

Moreover when they us'd to go in proceſſion with the Emperour 'twas ordain'd in the *Golden Bull* that the Arch-biſhop of *Tryers* ſhold go before his Imperial Majeſty, and neer him on both ſides one of the *Eccleſiaſtical* Electors; The King of *Bohemia* was to go alone after the Arch-biſhops, and after him the Elector of *Saxony* with the naked Sword of the Empire in his hand, having on his right hand the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhin*, carrieng the golden *apple* which denotes the world to be under the *Roman* Empire; And on the left hand of the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh* was to march with a Scepter in his hand, then followed the Emperour himſelf.

By what hath bin ſpoken the diſcern-

cern Reader may judg who had the priority of place, the Count *Palatin* of the Rhin or the Duke of *Saxony*, a Conteſt that hath gravell'd many.

THE

The third Section,

Touching the ſtile & title of Emperour *or* Cæſar, *and of the King of the* Romans, *&c.*

CONcerning the Character, and title of *Emperour*, it is of a younger date than that of *King*, and among the *Romans* it was in the beginning given to him who was Commander in chief of the *Militia*, nor was it neer of ſuch a tranſcendency then as now it is, He was at firſt but *tutoyè*, he was but *Thou'd* when he was ſpo-

ſpoken unto, but afterwards in regard he had the prerogative to conferr honors, and offices, to grant pardons, and patents of grace, with other obliging motives, the Courtiers, eſpecially the *Churchmen* began to magnifie, or rather deifie him with ſublime attributs, as we read in *Symmachus* in his Epiſtles to *Theodoſius*, and *Valentinian*, wherin his ſtile unto them is *Veſtra æternitas, veſtrum numen, veſtra perennitas, veſtra clementia, &c.* then he began to be call'd *Divus Imperator*; but touching the title of *Majeſtas*, which was given *ab augendo Imperium* (as was touch'd before,) or as ſome wold have it, a *majori ſtatu*, it is an attribut of no great antiquity, for it is not found among the old Authors, and it came not till *Henry the ſeconds* time to *France* who is not us'd to be backward in aſſuming, and apply engtitle of greatnes to her ſelf.

But concern[i]ng the dignity of *Emperour*, as heretofore, ſo is he ſtill accounted the *prime potentat* and Prince *paramount* among Chriſtians, and not only

only among them, but the *Turk*, next himself accounts the *German* Emperour the greatest Monark upon Earth, and esteems him accordingly, which appeer'd in the person of *David Vngnadius*, who being not an age since Ambassador in *Constantinople* for the Christian Emperour, and coming for audience to the Duana in the *Seraglio*, the *Persian* Ambassador had come before, and got the chair, but *Vngnadius* offering to go away ther was an upper chair put for him.

Another time upon the celebration of *Mahomet* the Thirds Circumcision which lasted forty daies & nights, ther being then in *Constantinople* the Legats of the greatest Monarks upon Earth, yet Hee who was Ambassador at that time for the Emperour *Rodulphus* the second had alwayes the first place.

Some *Civilians* exalt the Emperour with divers transcendent titles, wherof one is, *Dominus totius terræ*, the lord of the whole Earth; That *Cæsar* is *Proximus Deo*; *Cæsar* is next to God Almighty; But though

though the Emperour be accounted the sole supereminent Prince in Christendom yet ther have bin other Kings who assum'd that title besides him; Som of the Kings of *Spain* have bin call'd *Imperatores Hesperiæ*; King *Edgar* who was row'd upon the river of *Dee* by fower Kings, wherof the *Scot* was one, had this title, which appears upon good record by this bouncing Character. *Ego Edgarus Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia Anglorum Basileus omniumq; Regum Insularúmq;, Oceaniq; Britanniam circumjacentis, Cunctarúmq; Nationum quæ infra eam includuntur Imperator, et Dominus*; He was call'd also *Albionis Imperator*.

I Edgar by the bountifull clemency of the highthundring God, King of the English, *Emperour*, and Lord of all the Kings, Islands, and seas circumjacent to *Britain*, and of all the Nations included therin, he was stil'd in another place *Emperour of Albion*.

Moreover the Realms of *England* was declared an *Empire* by Act of Parlement *octavo* Henrici *octavi* and in divers

vers other Acts the Crown of *England* is call'd the *Imperiall Crown*, and the City of *London* the *Imperiall Chamber*.

Now touching the respects that other Christian Kings owe the *Emperour*, they acknowledge no other but that of *precedence* only, though *Henry* the second of *England* in his letter (which stands upon record) to *Frederique Barbarossa*, and *Richard* the first in his to *Henry* the 6. Emperour, seem to acknowledg a kind of subordination by way of Complement; but *Edward* the third of *England* wold not kisse the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*'s feet at their Enterview in *Colen*, and the reason he alledg'd, was, because he was *Rex inunctus habens vitam & membrum in potestate sua, &c.* because he was an anointed King having life and limb in his power, &c. which *Edward*, as the *German* Annals attest, *Ab Electoribus fuit vocatus, et nominatus Vicarius Imperii*, he was call'd, and nominated *Vicar* of the Empire, and as some have it, was offer'd to be Empe-

rour, in regard of his acquests, and glorious Exploits in *France*, whence he brought the three flower *de luces* upon his Sword, after the French had sent him that geering answer that *la Couronne de France n'est pas liee a la quenoville*, that the Crown of *France* was not tied to a distaff.

Add herunto that the Emperour cannot be call'd so pure, and independent a Monark as some other Kings, for besides that he is but Tenant for life and govern'd by *Diets* which are Imperial Parlements, the Electors may be sayed to be his *Associats*, and to have a share in the goverment; Nay, the Emperour by the ancient customs of the Empire may be brought to answer *in Causis pro quibus impetitus fuerit*, sayeth the Bull, before the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhin*, but he can passe no Iudgement unlesse the Emperour himself be present *in Imperiali curia*.

Ther want no examples that some Emperours have bin depos'd for their mal-administration, an instance shal

be made in *Wenceslaus* in the yeer 1400. who was formally degraded by the Archbishop of *Mentz* upon a publique theater in the plaines of *Brubach* neer the river of *Rhin* by a judicial sentence, which I thought worthy the inserting here.

VVee John Archbishop of Moguntia, *Prince Elector and Archchancellor of the German Nation, in the name of other Princes Electors, Dukes, Landgraves, Counts, and other Lords, Barons, and Potentats of the Empire, in regard of divers dommageable interests, and for the special importance of all the* Empire, *we do depose, and deprive by common consent, and Mature deliberation,* Wincelaus *as negligent, unprofitable, and unworthy of the Roman* Empire; *We degrade him of all the dignities and of all the honors which were due to him from the* Empire, *aud we publish him in the presence of all the* Princes, *Barons, and* Potentats *of the* Empire *for a prophane person, and unworthy of such an honor, and dignity;* Enjoyning Every *one of what quality or condition soever he bee, not to yeeld him obedience as* Emperonr, *prohibiting every one to payhim*

any kind of tribut, fief, or forfeiture, either by Right or by covenant, or any office appertaining to the Empire, Nay, we will that those perquisits be reserv'd untill God doth give us the grace to elect an Emperour, that may be for the benefit of the whole Empire, and the Christian Common-weale. And it is well known how often he hath bin admonish'd by the Princes Electors both in publique and privat, and particularly by ev'ry one of our Order that he wold leave his unworthy deportments, and carry himself as his Dignity requir'd.

Concerning the *King of the Romans*, it is but a modern title, peculiar to him who is declar'd Heir apparent, or the design'd Successor of the Empire; But at first, he who was so chosen was called *Cæsar*, and it was the Emperour *Adrian* who first cal'd *Ælius Verus* by that title insomuch that the family of *Julius Cæsar* being extinct in the person of *Domitius Nero* who was the sixt in descent (as afore was told) the name *Cæsar* ceas'd to be us'd as the name of a *family* or blood, but it was us'd as a name meer *honorary*, and precedent to the

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Empire; Afterwards the design'd Successor to the Empire was call'd *Despote*, after that he was call'd *King of Italy*, then *King of Germany*, and lastly *King of the Romans*, *Romischer Konig* in high Dutch, and the Emperour himself was only call'd *Cæsar Keyser* in Dutch, wch appellation continueth to this day; And it was *Charles the* 5 who introduc'd the title of *King of the Romans*, who since is acknowleg'd the immediat, and unquestionable apparent Heir and to succeed in the Empire, whether it be by *Resignation*, by *deprivation*, or *death*, being *in proximo fastigio collocatus* to the Emperour; Nay som *Civilians* hold that the King of the *Romans* may make *Edicts* without the regnant Emperour, being bound only as they say, *Majestatem Imperialem comiter observare*, making him hereby to owe a duty of *reverence*, but not of *superiority* to the *Keysar* or Emperour.

The 4 Section.

Touching the Diet or Imperial Parlement, and the members therof, with the Division of Germany, *and the strength of the Emperour.*

THe *German* Empire is divided to *ten* Circles, viz. *Austria* the high, and low, *Franconia*, *Bavaria*, *Saxonia*, *Westphalia*, the lower Circle of *Saxony*, *Burgundy*, the two *Palatinatts*; The goverment wherof is princi-

principally in the Emperour, *contractedly* in the Electors, and *diffusively* in the Diet or Imperiall Parlement, and other Courts, wherof the Chamber of *Spire* is the Supreme, whence ther is no appeal.

In the Diets after the Emperour the Princes Electors are the prime state, among whom the *Prelats* have still the priority; The second state is compos'd of *four Arch-bishops*, viz. he of *Magdenburg* (who is *primat* of all *Germany*) He of *Salzburg*, he of *Besanson*, and the Arch-bishop of *Breme*, which Archbishoprick the Kings of *Denmark* have had a long time; Then ther are one and thirty *Bishops*, and eleven *Abbats*, wherof he of *Fulda* is the chief, having above fourscore thousand *rich dollers in annuall revenue*; Then come the secular Princes of the Empire, wherof the *Arch-dukes of Austria* are first, and they are divided into two branches, *viz.* of *Germany* and *Burgundy*.

The third Estate is compos'd of *Imperial* towns which are about *sixty five*

in nomber, ſom wherof hold ſoly from the Emperour (which are accounted the moſt noble,) and ſome are Relevant from other Princes. Ther is another ſort of Towns call'd the *Hanſiatique* Towns, twixt whom ther is a ſtrong confederacy, and fraternal league in merchantile affairs: They are divided into *fower* claſſes, or Metropolitan Cities, to wit *Lubeck, Colen, Brunſwick, and Danzick*, who have a ſolemn yeerly convention at *Lubeck* where they keep their Records. The *Hans* or Hanſiatique Aſſociation is of long antiquity; touching the *word*, ſome wold fetch it from *hand*, becauſe they of the *Society* plight their faith when they enter into the fraternity; others derive it from the word *Hanſa*, which is *Counſell* or advice in the *Gothique* toung; Others wold have it from *Hander ſee* which ſignifieth a *place neer the Sea*, and this paſſeth for the moſt current Etymologie, in regard that all their Townes are ſo ſituated, or upon ſom Navigable river leading to the Sea. The Extent of

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the old *Hans* was from the *Nerve* in *Liefland*, as far as the banks of the *Rhin*, comprehending about *62 townes* of traſſique, whereof the *fower* great Towns afore nam'd were the ſeveral precincts; The Kings of *Poland*, and *Sweden* have ſued to be their *Protector*, but they refus'd them, becauſe they were not *Princes of the Empire*; They put off the King of *Denmarque* alſo with a complement, nor wold they admit of the King of *Spain* when he was moſt powerfull in the *Netherlands*, though afterwards they deſir'd his help when 'twas too late; They refus'd alſo the Duke of *Anjou*, notwithſtanding that the world thought at that time he ſhold have married *Queen Elizabeth* of *England*, who appeer'd for him in this buſines, wherby 'twas probable, they might have recover'd their old priviledges in *England*; So that I do not find that they had any other Protector (unles of late yeers) but the great maſter of *Pruſsia*, and their want of a Protector did do them ſome prejudice in that fa-

famous difference they had with *Queen Elizabeth*; The old *Hans* had Extraordinary immunities conceded unto them by our *Henry the third*, becauſe they aſſiſted him in his warrs with ſo many Ships, and, as they pretended, the King was not only to pay them for the ſervice of the ſayed Ships, but for the veſſels themſelfs in caſe they miſcarried; Now, it fortun'd, that upon their return to *Germany* from ſerving *Henry* the third, a great part of their Fleet was caſt away by diſtreſſe of weather, for which according to covenant they demanded reparation; Our King in lieu of *money* gave them ſome *immunities*, and among other acts of grace, they were to pay but *one per cent* cuſtom, which continued till Queen *Maries* time, and by the advice of King *Philip* her husband ſhe Enhanc'd the *one* to *twenty per cent*; The *Hans* not only complain'd, but clammor'd allowd for breach of their ancient privileges confirm'd unto them by long preſcription from *thirteen* ſucceſſive Kings of *England*, which

which they pretended to have pourchas'd with their money; King *Philip* undertook to accommodat the busines, but Queen *Mary* dieng, a little after (out of a conceit of the losse of *Calais*, which she sayed upon her death-bed should be found Engraven in her heart if she were open'd) and he retiring hence, there could be nothing done; Complaints being made afterwards to Queen *Elizabeth*, she answered, that, *as she wold not innovat any thing, so she would protect them still in the immunities, and condition she found them.* Hereupon their navigation, and traffic was suspended awhile, which prov'd very advantagious to the *English*, for they tryed what they could do themselfs herein, and after som adventures they thrive so well that they took the whole trade into their own hands, and so divided themselfs to *Staplers*, and *Merchant adventurers*, the one residing constant in one place, the other stirring, and adventuring to divers towns abroad with cloth, and other manufactures; This so netled the *Hans*, that they

they devis'd all the wayes they could to draw upon them the ill opinion of other Nations; Moreover the *Hans* towns being a body incorporated in the *German Empire*, complain'd to the *Emperour*, who sent over Ambassadors to mediat the busines, but they return'd still *re infecta*; Herupon the Queen caus'd a proclamation to be publish'd, that the Merchants of the *Hans* shold be intreated, and us'd as all other strangers within her dominions in point of Comerce, without any mark of distinction.

This nettled them the more, therupon they bent their forces more eagerly, and in an *Imperial Diet* at *Ratisbon* they procur'd that the *English* Merchants who had associated themselfs in corporations both in *Embden*, and other places, shold be adjudg'd *Monopolists*; whereupon ther was a *Comitial Edict* procur'd against them that they shold be exterminated, and banish'd out of all parts of the *Empire*, which was done by the activity of *Suderman* a great *Civilian*; Ther

Ther was there at that time for Queen *Elizabeth* Mr. *Gilpin*, as nimble a man as *Suderman*, and he had the Chancellor of *Embden* to countenance and second him, but they could not stop the *Edict* wherby the society of *English* Merchants adventurers were pronounc'd a *Monopoly*; yet *Gilpin* played his cards so well that he wrought under hand that the sayed Imperial *Ban* shold not be publish'd till after the dissolution of the *Diet*, and that in the *interim* his Imperial Majesty shold send an Ambassador to *England* to advertise the Queen of such proceedings against her Merchants; But this made so little impression on the Queen, that the sayed *Ban* grew to be rather ridiculous than formidable; for the town of *Embden* harbour'd our Merchants notwithstanding, and afterwards the town of *Stode*; but they, being not so able to protect them against the Imperial *Ban* removed, and settled themselfs in *Hamburgh*; After this the Queen commanded another proclamation to be publish'd, that the

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Hanſiatique Merchants ſhold be allowd to trade into *England* upon the ſame *conditions* and payments as their own Subjects did, provided that the *Engliſh* Merchants might have the ſame privileges, to reſide, and trade peaceably in *Stode* or *Hamburgh*, or any where elſe within the precincts of the *Hans*; This incens'd them more, therupon endeavours were made to cut off *Stode*, and *Hamburgh* from being Members of the *Hans*, or of the *Empire*, but they ſuſpended this deſſein till they ſaw what ſucceſſe the great *Spaniſh Armada* ſhold have which was then preparing in the year 88, for they had not long before made their addreſſe to the King of *Spain* which had done them ſom good offices; Wherfore to this day King *Philip* and his Councell were tax'd of a great overſight, that ther was no uſe made of the *Hans* towns in that great Expedition againſt *England*.

Queen *Elizabeth* finding that they of the *Hans* were not contented with that

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Equality ſhe had offer'd to make twixt them, and her own Subjects, put out a Proclamation that they ſhold tranſport neither corn, victuals, arms, timber, maſts, cables, metals, and any other materials, or men to *Spain*, or *Portugal*; And after, the Queen growing more redoubted, and famous by the overthrow of the Fleet in 88, The *Hans* began to deſpair of doing any good; Add herunto that another diſaſter befell them, which was the taking of 60 *Sayles* of their Shipps about the mouth of the River of *Lisbon* by the *Queens* Shipps, that went laden with *ropas de contrabando*, or goods prohibited by her former Proclamatio ns into the Dom inions of *Spain*; And as theſe Shipps were ready to be diſcharged, ſhe had intelligence of an extraordinary Aſſembly at *Lubeck*, which had purpoſely mett to conſult of means to be reveng'd of her, therupon ſhe made abſolute prize of the ſayed 60 Shipps, only two were freed to bring home tydings what became of the reſt; Her-

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upon the *Pole* ſent a ranting Ambaſſador in the behalf of the *Hans*, who ſpake in a high tone, but the *Queen* herſelf did ſuddenly anſwer him in a higher.

Theſe premiſſes being well conſidered, it prov'd an advantagious thing for *England* that this claſh fell out betwixt Her and the *Hans*, for ever ſince the *Engliſh* Merchants have beaten a peacefull and an un-interrupted trade into *High and Low Germany*, with their Manufactures of Wool, the Golden fleece of *England*, and found alſo a way through the *White Sea* to *Archangell*, and *Moſco*, which may be ſayed to have been the chief ground of that encreaſe of Shipping, Mariners, and Merchandiſing which ſhe is come unto.

Now, ther is one paſſage in this relation obſervable, that the *Hans-towns*, do not tie themſelfs to obey the *Bans*, and Edicts of the Imperial *Diet* no further than it conduceth to their own intereſt, as it appeer'd by the examples of *Embden*, *Stode* and *Hamburgh*, in

in the traverſes of this buſineſs, which towns ſtuck ſtil to the *Engliſh* Factories, notwithſtanding the publique tranſactions & prohibitions of the *Diet* to the contrary, *Æneas Sylvius* hath a memorable critical ſaying of the *German Diets* when he ſayeth *omnes Germanorum Dietas eſſe valde fæcundas, et quamlibet in ventre habere alteram, Ac credible eſt quia fæmineum ſit nomen libenter impregnari, pietas eſt parturire.* All the *German Diets* are fruitfull, in regard ev'ry one hath another commonly in its belly, and 'tis credible becauſe *Diet* is of the Fæminine gender ſhe is more willing to be got with Child; wherunto alluded alſo the ſaying of *Charles* the fift, *viz.* That the *German Diets* were like Vipers, for as theſe deſtroy their Damms, ſo the latter Decrees of *Diets* deſtroy the former.

I have dwelt longer upon this particular, than my propos'd brevity requir'd, but the *Hans* being that part of the *Empire* with whom *England* hath moſt *correſpondence* in

point of negotiation and comerce, I ſuffred my ſelf to be tranſported till my pen came to a full period.

THE

The fist Section.

A parallel twixt the Empire *pasd, and the present, with the causes of the declination therof, &c.*

THough by the tru rule of proportion, no parallel can be made 'twixt the *Roman Empire* pas'd, and the present, no more than 'twixt an *Eagle* and a *Wren*, yet because comparisons and examples conduce much to the elucidation of things, somthing shall be said to that point.

The *Roman Monarchy* when she was at the highest altitude of greatnes, and

glory, may be sayed to have had no horizon, while she sate upon her *seven Hills* she may be sayed to have *overlook'd* the World; She was once *fifty* miles in circuit, and *five hundred thousand* free Citizens were computed to be within her Walls, by that famous cense which was made that *Vopiscus* relates; The *Roman* Eagle fix'd his talons upon the Banks of *Euphrates* Eastward, on the *Nile* South, on the *Danube* and the *Rhin* Northward, and flew West as farr as the *British* and *German* Seas; Her annual revenues were then computed at a *hundred and fifty millions*, wherof the salary of her *legionary* Soldiers amounted to above twenty Milions; some of her Generals usually brought ten thousand talents into her *Erarium*, her Exchequer, at their return from abroad, and *Gabinius twenty thousand*; Som of her *Emperours* are recorded to have strew'd the Amphitheater with *gold sand* in their publique spectacles, & triumphs, so she might well have taken then the 5 Vowels for her symbole *A, E, I, O, V*, which signified,

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Aquila, Electa, Iuste, Omnia, Vincit. But she may be sayed to have shrunk since from a *Gianteſs* to a *Dwarf*, Insomuch that he who hath the Empire now may be sayed to have an *Eagles* feather only in his Capp, for he must have somthing of his own to support the sacred *Cæsarian* Majesty, els he may be put to live upon Alms; Take all the tributes of the free Towns, they come but to *five thousand* Crowns a yeer, but for any tru *fundum*, or Real estate ther's none; He depends meerly upon the plesure of the *Diet* for all publique pecuniary erogations, and taxes; And wheras we read that *Charles the fift* had once *ninety thousand foot*, and *thirty five thousand effectif horse* against *Solyman*, and above that nomber against the *Lutherans*, most of those were leavied in his own Dominions, and patrimonial Territories, Insomuch that if the *Roman* Eagles were not imp'd with *Austrian* feathers they wold be as bald as a Coot.

Yet *Germany* or *Almain*, as the knowing statists have delivered their opini-

ons, is a continent of that large expanſion, and ſo well peepled, that take the whole bulk together ſhe is able to rayſe two hundred thouſand effectif men, and maintain them by a general unanimous contribution.

Now, my Lord, if you deſire to know the reaſon of this ſo great an alteration and decay of the *Roman* Empire, ther were many cauſes concurr'd therunto, the main cauſe was touch'd before, *viz.* the tranſlation of *Cæſars* Court from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, wh erby *Italy*, and the reſt of the Weſtern parts of the *Empire* were left obvious and as a prey to other Nations; Add herunto the diſmembring of the *Empire* into Eaſt and Weſt, with other accidents pointed at before.

But for the declination of the *Occidental* Empire founded by *Charlemain*, ther was a greater concurrence of cauſes; Firſt the unhappy partition that *Lewis the Gentle* (*Charlemains* Son, made of the *Empire* to find a-pannage and portions for his Sons, wherof he had three; Adde herunto, that when the Em-

Empire came to be within the *German* pale, and *Italy* became but a *Province* to *Germany*, being to be disposd of by the Colledg of *Electors*, They who aspir'd to be Emperours, or to have their Sons to succeed them us'd to prepossesse, and oblige the *Electors* by donatifs, and indeed no lesse than bribes, as *Charles* the fourth to make his Son *VVenceslaus* capable to succeed him, offer'd them a *hundred thousand Florins apeece*, as *Æneas Sylvius* hath it, but having no ready money to satisfy them, he transferr'd, and pass'd over som *Imperial* townes unto them, wherof the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhin* had three for his share at one time, *viz. Openheim, Inquelien,* & *Keyserlausen.* It is recorded in the Imperial Annals that *Gerardus* Archbishop of *Mentz* was call'd *pro pola Imperii*, the Hucster of the Empire, and having conspir'd with others of his Complices against *Albert* the first, and design'd to elect another Emperour, the sayed *Gerardus* having a hunting horn about him, and being a potent popular man, he wind-

ed out these words *In hoc cornu complu-res gesto Cæsares*, In this horn I carry many *Keysars, viz. Cæsars*; The Empour taking this in indignation, by the speciall benediction of Heaven, he was quit with him, and his confederats afterwards, by making them carry *doggs* about the Countrey so many miles, which is acccounted in *Germany* the disgracefullest and most opproprious kind of punishment that can be inflicted upon a *Nobleman*, or *Gentleman*, wheras a *Boore* or *Plebean* is condemn'd according to the quality of his offence to carry only a *Chair* from one County to another; such a peculiar punishment ther was of old in *France*, for wheras ther was a law call'd *la loy de la chevelure* that none shold wear long hair but the *Nobles*, he who had committed any degenerous offence was adjudg'd to have his *hair* cutt off before the tribunal of Iustice, and so was degraded from being a *gentleman*, his *honor* going away with his *hair*, and so made a *Roturier* or *Yeoman*: The story tells us that the Emperour *Frederique*

derique Barbaroſſa made *Hermannus* Count Palatin of the *Rhin*, and ten Counts more to carry *doggs* above one *Germán* mile, for the prædations, and ill balancing of dollars, with other inſolences they had committed while he was in *Italy* warring with the Pope, againſt whom we read he had twelve pitched battails.

Such another claſh the Emperour *Conradus* had with *Guelphus* Duke of *Bavaria*, who bore up a good while againſt him, at laſt the Emperour, recruting his Army with *Italian* Auxiliaries, ſhut up the Duke in *VVinsberga*, and beleagred him ſo cloſe that he was ready to famiſh; And the Emperour having bin provok'd ſo farr that he had vow'd to put all to fyre and ſword, The Ducheſſe being a comely couragious Lady went through the throng of the army into the Emperours tent, and made ſuch a flexanimous ſpeech which ſo melted the Emperour, that he publiſh'd a proclamation, that for her ſake all the Women of *VVinsberga* ſhold have ſafe conduct

to

to depart and carry away upon their backs as much of their most precious wealth that they could bear. Herupon the Dutchesse took the *Duke* upon her back, and evry wife by her example her husband, mayds and unmarried women took up their brothers, and kindred, and so all marched out; The Emperour being much taken with this witty peece of humanity, publish'd a generall act of *Amnestia*, and so the Duke was redintegrated into his favor. This memórable story I couch'd once into *verse*, being a task impos'd upon me, and the Epigram runns thus.

Tempore quo Bavarum superârat Roma Guelphum,
Seria festivo Res fuit acta joco; (Urbem,
Conradus *victor VVinsbergam obsederat*
Hinc fame, Deditio facta, premente, fuit;
Matribus at miserans Bavaris, sponsæ; Guelphi,
Induperator iis tale Diploma dedit;
Quælibet ut Mulier tuto cum Rebus (abiret

Quas humeris posset sustinuisse suis.
Cum reliquis Comitissa *novo Diplomate* (*nixa*
Inde viros portant, pondera grata, suos.
Pendebant collo nati nataeq; lacertis
Sic abiit licita Fœmina Virq; fugâ;
Hac delectatus Cæsar *pietate, pepercit*
Omnibus, atq; novum cum Duce *fœdus* (*init.*

But to return where we left, another cause of the *Empours* decay, was, that being often reduc'd to som exigents for want of money, they us'd to have recours to the richest *Imperial towns* for a supply, who us'd to lend them *money*, and the Emperours payed them their *money* back with *immunities*; Many towns in *Italy* got their necks out of *Cæsars* yoak this way, and som of them very cheap, as *Florence*, for it cost her but *six thousand Crownes*, and *Luca ten thousand*; *&c.* In so much that the liberties of most of the free Citties of *Italy*, much more of *high and low Germany*, sprung out of the necessities of the Em-

Emperours, wherby their power as well as their glory did daylie decline; Adde herunto that the Bishopps of *Rome* feather'd their nests from time to time with the *Eagles* plumes, specially in *Italy*, for besides the City of *Rome*, and the Countreys adjacent, such was the high reverence the *Church* had in those daies that many other territories were given to the *Apostolical* See, and since, by well devoted Princes, Insomuch that the *Pope* is grown herby to he a great *temporal* Prince, for the state of the *Church* extends above *three hundred miles* in length, and *about two hundred miles in breadth*; It contains the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, *Bologna*, *Romania*, the Marquisat of *Ancona*, *Sabina*, *Perugia*, with a part of *Toscany*, the *Patrimony of Saint Peter*, and *Latium*; in these there are above 50 Bishopricks; He doth signorize also over the Dutchy of *Spoleto* and the *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*, he hath the Towns of *Benevento* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the County of *Venisse* in *France* call'd *Avignon*, he hath title good enough to

Naples

Naples alſo herſelf, and *Calabria*, but rather than incurr the dipleſure of the *King* of *Spain* his Champion, and chief ſupporter of his Chair, he is contented with an annual heriot of a white Mule with a purſfull of piſtols about her neck; He pretends alſo to be Lord paramount of *Sicily*, *Urbin*, *Parma*, and *Maſſeran*, as alſo of *Norway*, *Ireland*, and *England* ſince King *John* did proſtrat our Crown at *Pandulpho* his Legats feet: His Dominions reach from one Sea to another, *viz.* from the *Tyrrhene* to the *Adriatique*, and theſe Territories run through the center of *Italy*, which enables the *Pope* to do good or harm to the Princes about him, and makes him capable to be an *Vmpire*, or a potent *Enemy*, his authority being mixt twixt *ſecular* and *ſpiritual*, for he can uſe the ſword, and thunder-bolt of Excommunication at pleſure; And (to return to our chief ſubject) moſt of the Countreys pointed at before being feathers of the *Eagle* did much decreaſe her ſtrength.

Moreover, as the *Roman* Church did this

this way impair the power of the *Empire*, ſo the *Reformed Church*, and the difference of Religion in *Germany* did much enfeeble it; For thoſe Princes who turn'd *Lutherans* daylie encroach'd upon, and impropriated the demeans of the *Church*, which was a great ſupport to the Emperour, being more devoted to *him*; than to the ſecular Princes.

But to go a little more particularly to work, we will not rove in *Aſia* and *Afrique* where ſo many mighty parts of the Continent fell from the *Roman* Empire, nor will we look ſo farr back in Europe as to ſpeak of the defection of *Spain*, *France*, and *Great Britain*, which was the firſt Province that fell from *Rome*, though indeed *Rome* may be ſayed to have fallen firſt from *Her*, being not able by reaſon of warrs ſhe had in other Countreys, to protect the *Britains* againſt the *Picts*, as *England* ſayes now in point of *Religion* that ſhe had never fallen away from *Rome*, unleſſe *Rome* had fallen from her ſelf; I ſay we will not look ſo farr back, but come

come to more modern Times since the Empire came within the *German pale*; The *Swisses* were one of the last that revolted, who being summon'd to the Imperiall Chamber at *Spire*, they sent a rough hewn Ambassadors to tell the Imperial Councel in these words, *Domini confœderati Heluetii vos vicinos suos salvere jubent, mirantur verò quod tam crebris citationibus, &c.* The Lords Confœderats of *Switzerland* do greet you their Neighbours, but they wonder that by your so frequent citations you wold disquiet *Them*, therfore they pray and *exhort* you, that you would no further molest *Them*. In *Charles* the fifts time the *Livonians* fell off, and He summoning them to their obedience, and menacing to reduce them otherwise by force, they sent him a geering Answer, *That they beleev'd his Horse wold tyre before he could reach the skirts of* Liefland, as *Thuanus* hath it. A *German* Author hath it upon record, that since the reign of *Rodolph* the first, above two hundred States and Princes have un-membred, and emancipated them-

themſelfs from the *German* Emperour, who were us'd to obey his ſummons,& make their apparance accordingly.

Touching *Germany* it ſelf, 'tis tru, that it is a huge Continent, and full of Princes, which make ſom compare her to a Firmament ſpangled with *Stars*; Others compare the *Emperour* to a great Luminary incircled with the ſeven Planets, meaning the *Septemvirat*, or the Colledg of *Electors*, and not improperly, for this agrees with the *Cæſarean* Arms, which are *Sol*, *Saturn* arm'd, and crown'd *Mars*, and the Eagle diſplayed with two heads; yet, though therby the Emperour be call'd *Rex Regum*, theſe Princes are prejudicial to his greatnef, wherof *Ibraim* Ambaſſador to *Solyman* the great *Turk* gave a hint by an ingenuous Fable which was thus; When *Maximilian* the ſecond was choſen Emperour, the foreſayed *Ibraim* was then at *Frankfort*, who having bin a Spectator to the ceremony, and obſerv'd what great Princes attended the Emperour that day, and being told that ſom of them

them could rayſe an Army of themſelfs, and maintain it againſt any power, The Ambaſſador ſmilingly ſayed, That he doubted not of the puiſſance of *Germany*, but he obſerv'd that the Minds and Actions, the Counſels and Intereſts of the *Germans* were like a beaſt with many heads, and tayls, which in caſe of neceſſity being to paſs through a hedg, and ev'ry head ſeeking to find a particular hole to paſs thorough, they were a hindrance one to another, ev'ry head drawing after his own fancy, and ſo hazarded the deſtruction both of all the heads body & tayls: But the Empire of *Solyman* his great Maſter was like a beaſt with many tayls, yet ſhe had but one head, which head being to get thorough or over any paſſage, without any confuſion, or difference of fancy, all the tayls, and the whole body follow'd ſmoothly after.

Laſtly, the fatallſt cauſe of the decay of *Cæſar* was the monſtrous ſucceſſes of the *Mahumetan*, whoſe *half Moon*

fill'd out of the *Wane* of the *Roman Empire* both East and West, It being a sad saying, that whersoever the *Turks horse sets once his foot, ther's no Christian grasse will ever grow there again.*

THE

The sixth Section,

Of enlarging the Colledg of Electors *from seven to an* Octumvirat, *And the Conteſt that is now twixt the* Count Palatin *of the* Rhin, *and the Duke of* Bavaria *touching the Vicarſhip of the Empire.*

THe attempting the Crown of *Bohemia* by *Frederiqne* Count Palatin of the *Rhin*, as it prov'd unſucceſsfull unto himſelf and Family, ſo it prov'd fatal to all Chriſtendom beſides (as

the preceding *Comet* did foretell *An.* 1618.) for directly or collaterally it hath bin the cauſe of all the warrs that happen'd ever ſince in Chriſtendome, which made King *Iames*, as if he had bin *Prophet* as well as *Prince*, to ſay unto his privy Councell, upon the firſt tydings which were brought him that his ſon-in-law was gone to *Prague*, *My Lords, this is a ſad buſineſs, and the youngeſt man amongſt us ſhall not live to ſee the end of it* which prov'd tru.

The *Bohemian* Crown was firſt offer'd by the Revolters to the Duke of *Saxony*, but hee out of a political prudence, as well as out of the fidelity and alleageance he ow'd the *Emperour*, declin'd it; Then they reflected upon the Count Palatin of the *Rhin* as a Prince that might be *par negotio*, and able to go through-ſtitch with it, In regard of his powerful aliiances, The King of great *Britain* being his Father-in-law, the King of *Denmark* his Onckle, the ſtates of *Holland* his confederats, and *Maurice* Prince of *Orenge* with the Duke of *Bovillon* (who was

was call'd the old *Ardenian fox*) being also his Oncles, which *last three*, incited him first unto that great Attempt, though he paus'd a good while upon it, and resolv'd twice to decline it, till his *lady* seem'd to reproch his pusillanimity, telling him, *Had you Sir, the courage to venture upon a King of great Britains sole Daughter, and will you not venture upon a Crown when 'tis offer'd you?*

The Count Palatin then was look'd upon as one of the fortunatst Princes in *Germany*, Having the best *lady in his bed*, the best *stable of horses*, the best *library of Books*, the best *cellar of wine* of any of the rest.

Maximilian the old Duke of *Bavaria*, stuck close to the *Emperour* in this quartell, for by his assistance and conduct an army of 25000. was routed by lesse then *fifteen* thousand, and the City of *Prague* with the whole Kingdom was recover'd for the *Emperour*; On the otherside by the arms of the King of *Spain* and the conduct of *Marquis Spinola* the *Palatinat* was conquer'd, though the *Princes* of the *Vaion* had

an Army of forty thousand effectif men under, the Marquis of *Ansback* and others to defend it, but 'twas sayed that *dolus versabatur in Generalibus*, that the Generals were corrupted, and that the acqueſt was made more by *Spaniſh piſtolls*, than by *Spinola's Sword*.

Herupon at a ſolemn Aſſembly of the Electors at *Ratisbon Anno* 1623, the *Electorſhip* of the *Rhin*, and the *Archidapiferſhip*, with all the prerogatives, and perquiſits, the authorities and enfranchiſements, and honors annexed therunto was conferr'd upon the Duke of *Bavaria* for term of life; But in another Aſſembly 1628, which was five yeers after at *Prague*, this great Grant was not only confirm'd unto him during his own life, but entayl'd upon his Heirs to Perpetuity, and withall, the upper *Palatinat* was transferr'd unto him, with the *County of Chàm* in conſideration of his expences in the wars, which amounted to *thirteen million of Dollars*.

But

But in the Treaties at *Munſter* and *Oſnabrug Anno* 1652, fower and twenty yeers after, this Grant was qualified, that in caſe the *Gulihelmian* line which is the Houſe of *Bavaria* did fayl without Maſculine iſſue, the *Electorſhip of the Rhin*, with the *Archidapiferſhip* and all the prerogatives therof ſhold revert to the *Rodulphian line* which is the *Palatin*, being the elder Houſe of the two.

Now, concerning the *Gulielmian* or *Bavarian line* ther are but 4 living, wherof two are Churchmen, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and the Biſhop of *Frizing*, which can leave no iſſue behind; Then is ther the now Duke of *BAVARIA* and his Brother, nor are they alſo likely to get iſſue, for as the Tradition in *Germany* goes *Maximilian* the former Duke of *Bavaria* having maried the laſt Emperours Siſter who was young, and the Duke being old and crazy having 5 iſſues then about his body, ther were ſome Jeſuitts that brought ſuch a prolifical cordial from *Italy* that enabled the old Duke

to get children, but those Children shold be impotent and barren, as it hath hitherto prov'd tru, insomuch the *Palsgrave* is in fair hopes to get the Electorship of the *Rhin* again in a short time, and then the eighth Electorship must be extinguished.

Besides, *publicæ tranquillitatis causa*, as the *Instrumentum pacis* hath it, for setling a firm and general everlasting peace in *Germany* which had bin so miserably depopulated and torn by the late wars, which had not only scratch'd her face, but rent her very bowels, for about thirty yeers together, as also for diremption of all strife for the future, The Count *Palatin* was created the *eighth Elector*, which is term'd in the Instrument by a new coynd Epithet or logical term *simultanea Investitura*, a joint or contemporary Investiture; And because ther's an office annexed to ev'ry *Electorat*, he was made *Arch-treasurer* of the *Empire*, which he executed at the Election of the last King of the *Romans*, and the coronation of the Empresse at *Ratisbon*, by

by throwing Medaills some of Gold, some of Sylver among the peeple; under this notion he hath a sesion and suffrage in the Colledg of Electors, but he must be content to sitt last of all; Moreover by the said Instrument of Accommodation at *Munster*, he was to renounce all right *pro tempore* not only to the upper Palatinat, and the County of *Cham*, but he was to part with the *Bergstrad* (one of the best parts of the lower Palatinat) and re-deliver it to the *Archbishop* of *Mentz*, who had oppignorated, and pawn'd it to his Ancestor *Anno* 1463 for a sum of money, but *cum pacto perpetuæ reluitionis*, with a proviso that it might be redeem'd at all times.

The Emperour *Ferdinand* the third, being not long since dead ther arose a contest, which continues still undecided, 'twixt the Elector *Palatin*, and his Cosen, and Co-elector the Duke of *Bavaria* about the *Vicarship* of the *Roman* Empire; And to illustrat this point the better it must be understood that by the fundamental laws of the

Em-

Empire, exemplified in the *Aured Bulla*, it is enacted, that in the absence of the Emperour (who was us'd oft in former times to crosse the Alpes to *Italy*) or after his death during the vacancy or Interregnum, ther were two *Vicars* or Imperial Deputies appointed to manage the affaires of the *Empire*, to witt the Count Palatin of the *Rhin*, for the jurisdictions of *Franconia*, *Svevia*, and the Country about the *Rhin*, And the Duke of *Saxony* for those large Territories that lay within that *Circle*; The *Bavarian* alledgeth that this prerogative of Vicarship appertain'd unto the Count Palatin of the *Rhin ratione Electoratus*, by vertu of the Elector ship, & the office of *Archidapifer* or chief Sewer of the sacred Empire, for which he produceth the *Golden Bull* both in the Original Latin, and also translated into *Dutch*; Hee takes also the great Instrument of *Munster* for his *buckler*, wherin the sayed *Electorship* of the *Rhin*, and the ofice of *Archsewership* with all the prerogatives, perquisits, and appendix-

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es therunto belonging, wherof the *Vicarſhip* is the chiefeſt, is totally transferr'd uuto Him and his Iſſue Male to perpetuity.

The Count Palatin utterly denies that, and poſitively affirmeth that this office and prerogative of *Vicariat* was conferr'd upon him and practis'd by his progenitors before ever the Colledg of *Electors*, and the ſubſequent *Aurea Bulla* was conſtituted, which *Bull* or *Magna Charta* of the *German* Empire was not the *Donor* but confirmer only of that great *Anceſtrial prerogative* which *inconcuſſa conſuetudine*, by an unſhaken cuſtom belong'd to his family; Avouching further, that it is an *Annexum inſeparabile Comitatus*, That it is an Heirloome of the *County Palatin* of the *Rhin*, in which County he was formally and plenarily reinveſted in the yeer 1652: He excepts likewiſe againſt the tranſlation of the ſayed *Aurea Bulla* into the *Teutonique*, or High *Dutch*, alleadging it is erroneous in many paſſages; And laſtly concludes that his Progenitors enjoyed this

this prerogative of *Vicariat*, *ratione Comitatus*, not *Electoratus*, as may be inferr'd out of the politicall reason why that office was conferr'd upon his Ancestors wch was in regard of thepositi-on oftheir ditions & Territories which lye appoſit & proper to have the goverment of thoſe Countreys of *Franconia Svevia, &c.* becauſe they are ſituated neer, & ſom of them conterminant with the *Rhin*. This controverſy remains ſtill indecided; In the *interim* the *proteſtants* of thoſe parts make their addreſſes to the *Count Palatin*, and the *Roman* Catholiques to the *Bavarian* as their occaſions require, either for renewing or letting of leaſes, the forfeiture of Felons goods, the protection of Idiots, and Lunatiques, &c.

The

The seventh Section.

Some Reflexes made upon the present Coniuncture of Things, and the political condition of Germany, *with a Coniecture who is likely to be King of the* Romans, *and consequently the next* Emperour.

HAving allready, my Lord, in a *Succinct*, but I hope, some *Satisfactory* way treated of the *German* Empire

pire, of the *Octumvirat*, or Colledg of *Electors*, with other matters Concident, and homogeneous with this ſubject, I ſhall now wind up this ſmall bottome, and conclude with ſome glances upon the preſent Eſtate of *Germany*, together with the particular *Intereſts* therof.

Your Lordſhip hath read before that the Office of *Emperour*, *in ſtatu quo nunc*, is meerly a Title, and like a feather in one's capp, whoſoever undertakes it muſt have pillars of his own to ſupport it; Now among the Princes of *Germany*, the Duke of *Saxony*, next after the Houſe of *Auſtria*, is thought to be beſt able to bear the three Imperial Crowns, and at the late Emperours death he began to be much ſpoken of, but (as an Obſerving gentleman, who came lately thence, told mee) all the people that are under his ſubjection did riſe up, and with open mouth proteſted againſt it, cryeng out that they wold put themſelfs under the protection of another Prince, if he wold be the *Keyſar*;

Now,

Now, the reaſon is, that if the Elector of *Saxe* were Emperour, he muſt of neceſſity enhance their tolls and taxes to ſupport the Dignity.

The Duke of *Bavaria* ſince he hath bin inveſted in the upper *Palatinat*, and the *County of Cham*, is grown very conſiderable, and to be able to counterpoiſe the *Saxe* in power, their yeerly revenues amounting to above a million of rich dollars a peece; Beſides, the *Bavarian* Sylver mines have wonderfully thriven of late yeers both for the pureneſs, and quantity of *Bullion*; And if *Maximilian* the former Duke of *Bavaria* could lay out thirteen millions for the ſervice of the Emperour, in conſideration wherof he had at firſt a part of the Territories of *Auſtria* hypothequ'd unto him, and afterwards the upper *Palts* and the County of *Cham* transferr'd unto him, together with the Electorſhip of the *Rhin* in full and valuable ſatisfaction of the ſaid 13 millions, I ſay if the former Duke was ſo powerfull, it may be well inferr'd that the preſent Duke is much more,

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by the new acquests he hath made, and so might be capable of the Empire, but notwithstanding that the *French* is sayed to spurr him on, and that the Elector of *Colen* be his Oncle, yet 'tis not probable he will make any competition with his Cousin-germin the King of *Hungary*, his peeple like them of *Saxony* being also very averse therunto, though his peeple be in a surer way of subjection and vassalage unto him, than other *Germans* are, ther being no great ones in his Dominions to clash with him.

Touching the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, though he be great Master of the *Teutonique* Order, and hath such spacious and large Territories that he can go upon his own demeans above 500 miles from *Cleve* to the furthest parts of *Prussia*, yet is he thought to be inferiorto the other two in revenues & wealth, therfore the lesse able to bear the weight of the *German Empire*; Adde herunto that of the eight Electors, *five* are still *Roman* Catholiques, so that it is improbable, a *Protestant* shold be

chosen

choſen, for ther are ſuch ceremonies to be perform'd that are incompatible with a *Proteſtant*, beſides the *Pope* wold never *confirm* ſuch an Emperour, and without his confirmation no Emperour can be call'd *Auguſtus*.

Touching the King of *Denmark* though he be capable of the Empire being a kind of *German*, yet the nature of thoſe Kings and peeple hath bin rather to *preſerve* what they have than to *extend* their Country further; Moreover the preſent King is ingag'd in an open war againſt the *Swed*; Ther is alſo a late claſh 'twixt him, and the town of *Hamborough* about the *Huldygen*, which is an Inauguration to be her Protector, as his Father was: for *Hamborough* was built upon, and ſtands ſtill upon the King of *Denmarks* ground; yet ſhe refuſeth to *Huld* him, alledging that ſhe bought him out for great ſummes of money, And ſo pretends to be now an *Imperial* free Town, and to hold ſoly from the *Keyſer*; Wheras others averre that ſhe is meer *Hanſiatique* within the Verge of *Lubeck* her Neighbour,

bour, which is the chiefeſt of the firſt Precinct of the old *Hans*, as was touch'd before.

Adde herunto that the laſt King of *Denmark* hath ſome particular obligations to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, his great Gran-mother having bin *Charles* the fifts Siſter. Beſides, when General *Tilly* was like in the eye of human reſon with a Veteran victorious Army to overcom all *Holſteyn*, *Ferdinand* this King of *Hungaries* Gran-father made a friendly, and favourable peace with *Chriſtian* the fourth, who had invaded *Germany* with a conſiderable Army, but with little ſucceſſe, in the behalf of the Count Palatin of the *Rhin* his Nephew.

The *Swed* mought have bad fair for the Imperial *Golden Apple* had he took firmer footing in *Poland*, and ſucceeded in his notable deſigns further; Nay, his Army being compos'd of Soldiers of Fortune, might ſtill by new recreuts as they puſh'd on their hopes, have prov'd in time as formidable, and fatal to the teſt of Chriſtendome as their

their Anceſtors the *Goths* and *Vandales* were of old, who pierc'd the very center of Europe to find warmer habitations.

Nor was the *Swed* altogether incapable to have ſtood for it in regard of thoſe Territories which *Guſtavus* got, and annexed to the Crown of *Sweden* within the pale of the Empire, *viz. Pomerland*, and *Breme*; But the *Dane* warring into a new warr with him, and the Marquis of *Brandenburg* deſerting him, and having the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the *Pole*, the *Moſcovit* his actual enemies beſides, 'tis thought his hopes are blaſted for enlarging his dominions at this time, but 'tis well if he can now ſecure *Sweden* it ſelf, much more the new acqueſts aforeſaid in *Germany*; ſpecially his friends (*viz. England* and *France*) being ſo remote from him, and his enemies ſo neer about him.

The *French* King, though I believe he be in deſpair to have it himſelf, he being *Exterus & non Germanus*, a Stranger and no *German*, and

ther being a fundamental Law tha
no Forrener be Emperour, as ther is
Sanction in the Conclave among th
Cardinals, that no *Tramontane*, *viz.* on
born this side the *Alps* can be Pop
I say, though the King of *France* look
not for it himself, yet he spends a
the interests he hath, and is like to em
ploy all the power he can with all th
Artificies besides to cajoll, I will n
say, *corrupt* the Electors for the sech
ding of the young King of *Hungary*, a
that the *Empire* shold not be alway
a prostitut to one *Family*. But *Fra*
they say hath few real Friends in *Ge*
many among the Princes; 'Tis tr
the Elector of *Tryers* being perpetu
Arch-chancelor of *France*, hath alwa
bin, and is still *Fleurdelizè*, he is Flo
deliz'd and Frenchified all over, a
France alwaies sticks to him also up
all occasions; 'twas about *him* that th
was such a counterbuff 'twixt *L*
the thirteenth, and *Gustaphus Adolph*
because he had invaded part of h
Territories; 'twas for his sake, b
sides the still growing greatnesse

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Spain, that this preſent warr was denounc'd by ſound of Herald againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by the laſt French King: Moreover, 'tis tru that the Marquis of *Brandenburg* while he lately adher'd to the *Swed* was devoted to *France*, but ſince he hath accommodated matters with the *Pole*, he hath chang'd his intereſt, and is like to enter into the general league they ſpeak of to be made between the *Princes* of the Empire for preſerving the common peace of *Germany* againſt all that ſhall attempt to diſturb it; And beſides the *Electors* themſelfs, The Duke of *Brunſwick*, Prince of *Anhalt*, *Luneberg*, *Lawenburg*, the *Landgrave of Heſſe*, *Darmſtad't*, *Baden*, *Newburgh*, *Wittemburgh*, though the laſt, and ſome of the other ſmell rank of the French intereſt, yet to prevent a new warr in *Germany* they are like to enter into the foreſayed *Patrial* league, together with all the Imperial and Hanſiatical Towns.

Touching the *Palſgrave*, or Prince Palatinof the *Rhin*, 'tis tru that ther hath bin agreat deal of intimacy, and

reciprocal leagues twixt his Progenitors, and *France*, but the last Emperour and his Son the King of the *Romans* oblig'd him (and his brother Prince *Rupert*) by many recent civilities ; At the Treaties of *Osnabrug*, and *Munster* the Emperour wold have *his* buſineſs to be diſpatch'd firſt, and was very indulgent of him all along the while ; The fower hundred thouſand dollars which were aſſign'd himſelf, and to make portions and apennages for his younger brothers, the twenty thouſand dollars that were awarded the Lady *Dowager* his mother *pro viſtalitio*, and the ten thouſand dollars which were aſſign'd for dowries to evry one of his Siſters, were all granted as the words of the Inſtrument run *pro benevolo ſuæ Majeſtatis Cæſareæ affectu ergo domum Palatinam*, for the benevolent affection his Imperial Majeſty bore to the family of the *Palatin*, which ſummes the Emperour punctually payed ; Moreover at the coronation of the Empreſſe, and the creation of the laſt King of the *Romans*

mans, the *Prince* Palatin officiated in perſon, and ther were many Endearments paſs'd twixt the Emperour, and him; In ſo much that 'tis thought he will be no back frend to his ſon the now King of *Hungary* when the buſines of Election comes to be canvas'd.

Theſe Premiſſes, & particular intereſts being well conſidered, in the eye of all humane probality 'tis thought, that the laſt Emperours ſon *Leopoldus Ignatius*, now King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, *&c.* and being one of the Electors himſelf, and chiefeſt of the *Temporals*, is like to be the man, and make the fourtinth Emperour of a direct *Auſtrian* line; And they who think thus, ground their conjectures upon divers reaſons deduc'd from the preſent poſture of things.

Firſt, becauſe the Iunta, or Aſſembly of the Princes Electors is ſtil deferr'd, and like to be ſo, till the ſayed King of *Hungary* be come to his Majority, which by the *German* law in this point is at eighteen yeers, and this will be in *June* next; then being out

of his baſſage, or minority, he is capable both to be King of the *Romans*, and to have a ſuffrage among the Electors as he is King of *Bohemia*, and Archbuttler of the ſacred Empire.

Secondly, becauſe if the King of *Hungary* have the canvas, and be rejected, ther will be an inevitable warr in *Germany*, which ſhe will avoyd if poſſible *ſhe* can, having had not only her face ſcratch'd, but her very entrails rent aſunder for ſo many yeers by a cruentous lingring warr, and the deep wounds ſhe receav'd thence are not yet conſolidated in ſom places.

Thirdly, becauſe ther is no Prince ſo potent and proper to bear the weight of this great burden than the King of *Hungary*, or to keep out and encounter the Common Enemy, to witt, the *Turk*, as *Hee*, for he hath not only moſt of the Dominions of *Auſtria*, but two Kingdomes beſides ſituated on the confines, and ſerving as ramparts againſt him by land, as the Republique of *Venice* doth by ſea; Inſomuch that both the *danger*, as well as

ſecu-

ſecurity of the Houſe of *Auſtria* is involv'd with the Empire it ſelf, and indeed of all *Europe*. Now we ſhall find all theſe Countreys in the title of the laſt Emperour, which runns as followe's.

Ferdinandus *tertius divinâ favente clementia electus* Romanorum *Imperator, ſemper* Auguſtus, *Ac* Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, Slavoniæ, *&c. Rex, Archidux* Auſtriæ, *Dux* Burgundiæ, Bragantiæ, Stiriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ, *&c. Marchio* Moraviæ, *Dux* Lucemburgiæ, *ac ſuperioris & inferioris* Sileſiæ, Wittemburgiæ, & Teckæ, *Princeps* Sveviæ, *Comes* Haſpurgi, *&* Gloritiæ, *Langravius* Alſatiæ, *Marchio ſacri Imperii* Romani, Burgaviæ, *ac ſuperioris, et inferioris* Luſatiæ, *Dominus Marchiæ* Slavonicæ, *portus Naonis, & Salinarum, &c.*

In this accumulation of eight and twenty titles ther are but two that he had from the Empire, *viz.* the ſtile of *Emperour*, and *Ring of Germany*, all the reſt are appendixes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; And the King of *Spain* who

who is of the elder House hath many more, being great granchild to the Emperour *Charles le Quint*, who made a spontaneous Resignation of the Empire to *Ferdinand* his second brother, though as a privat Author hath it, the *second day after his resignation, was the first day of his repentance.*

Now, to rayse up the House of *Austria* to this altitude, six of the greatest Families of *Europe* concentred in one, viz. *Austria*, *Burgundy*, *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Hungary*, *and Portugal*, so that it may be call'd a palace six stories high, (though as Emperour he hath not a house to hide his head in)

Austriacûm Domus Armipotens sex fulta columnis.

Fourthly, because the House of *Austria* hath the good wishes of the *Pope*, and of the *Jesuitts*, who underhand do good offices for him, though the Pope dare not appeer publiquely in the businesse for fear of giving any distaste to *France*; For he may be sayed to hold *France*, and *Portugal* also,

alſo, as one doth a Dog by the ears, fearing they ſhold run away from him to Patriarks of their own making; Nor hath any King in Chriſtendom a greater temptation to fall away from *Rome*, in regardthe *Gallican* Church, by a late computation which was made, hath above three hundred and forty millions of liures in annual revenue, which, ſhold he renounce the Pope, wold devolve moſt of it to the Crown.

Moreover, this Gentleman told me that the Electors, with the Princes and Cities of Empire, are more and more ſenſible to find the King of *France* ſhold appeer ſo much, and as ſom write, intrude himſelf into this buſineſ, by ſending Ambaſſadors with ſuch gawdy trains, whoſe rich liureys are like to be worn out before the Election day, ſo that they had needed to have brought a Lantern and Candle with them comming ſo long *before day*, as one made a Paſquill of them in *Frankfort*, who with ſom difficulty did open her Gates

unto

unto them, it being an ancient Constitution of the Empire, that none shold be admitted to lodge in the Town where the Election is to be held, but the Princes Electors themselfs and their train, which come to nere upon two thousand horse; But the *Germans* are more sensible and startled, that the *French* shold draw such forces to their Frontires as to *Metz*, *Philipsburg*, and *Brisack* (for *Brisack*-bridg makes now *France* and *Germany* one continued piece,) as if ther wer a design hereby to controul the Electors in their choice, and embroyl *Germany* again in a warr; which puts the young King of *Hungary* to extraordinary expences, of making new levies, Insomuch that he will have by the next Spring, as they write, an Army of 50 thousand effectif men, to confront the *French*.

But indeed it may be wondred ther shold be any ambition at all, of aspiring to the *Roman German* Empire *in statu quo nunc*, it being but an ayrie bare shadowy title, or a Skeleton of part

part of the old *Roman* Monarchy, Therfore a late *German* Author confeſſeth, *Quod nobis eſt magnum momentum politicum, Exteris eſt magnum deridiculum*, That which we make to be of ſo high political a conſequence, ſeems to Forreners to be but a thing of laughter, alluding to that adoe ther is us'd about the election of an Emperour, as in *Venice* to creat a *Doge* who in point of power is no other than *teſta di legno* a head of wood.

Nor are thoſe who live under the Empire tyed to ſo ſtrict an obedience, ther is not that exact relation, and reciprocation of ſubjection, and protection 'twixt the Emperour and his Vaſſals, as uſeth to be 'twixt Prince and Peeple in other places, where the *Liegeman* is bound to ſubmit, and the *Liegelord* is bound to defend; Touching the later, he ſpoke like a Statiſt, that ſayed, *Defendere ſubditos eſt attributum naturale inhærens viſceribus Regiminis, eſt qualitas infixa oſsibus, et indiviſibilis, ita ut regimen, & protectio unum & idem judicatur indiviſible.* Defence of the

Sub-

Subject is a natural attribut inhæring in the very bowels of Goverment, 'tis a quality infix'd in the very bones therof, Insomuch that Protection and Goverment is adjudg'd to be the self same indivisible thing: 'Tis not so in the *Imperial* Government, wher ther is a looser kind of Clientele, and Protection; Nor is the submission of the *Liegeman* so absolut, for an Imperial Ban is not so much obey'd there as an *Edict* in *France*, a *Prematica* in *Spain*, a *Proclamation* in *England*, or a *Placart* in the *Netherlands*, wher ther is a more punctual obligation 'twixt Prince and Peeple, the one to obey, the other to defend their persons, and maintain their privileges; Though som do hold, that a Country giving her self to a Prince, what privileges soever the peeple reserve to themselfs by contract, they are all lost when they enter into subjection, which by its nature makes a man subordinat to another without any exception, whensoever the publique good is concern'd, and that those pri-

privileges by the ſayed ſubjection paſs into the nature of conceſsions of Princes afterwards, which they may ſtretch, reſtrain, or revoke according to the urgency of their publique occaſions; And when ther is a neceſſity to do ſo, the Peeple are not allow'd to revolt, or right themſelfs by violence; 'Tis tru, that in all privat particular Treaties the unobſervation of the Conditions, acquitts the parties from the Obligations of the contract, but this doth not reach to Soverain Princes, when the Peeple have once choſen them for their advantage, and ſecurity. But to return to our chief matter, the Princes, and Towns of the Empire, though they acknowledg the *Keyſer* for their Soveraign, yet are they not oblig'd in that ſtrictneſ of obedience to him, as their own peeple are to them; Theſe Princes may be ſayed to be rather his Collegues, and *Aſſociats* in governing rather than *Snbjects*; It being a Rule in *Germany*, that *Quilibet Imperii ſtatus in ſuo Territorio tantum poſsit, quantum Imperator in toto Imperio*, Ev'ry ſtate

ſtate of the Empire within his own Territory, may do as much as the Emperour in the whole Empire; They have power of life and death, they may coyn money, ſend Ambaſſadors abroad, and make confederacies, and leagues with forren Princes, with other *Territorial* prerogatives; But that power of making leagues was reſtrain'd in the late Treaty at *Oſnabrug*, for the *Inſtrument* ſayes, *Ius faciendi fœdera liberum eſto, Ita tamen ne ejuſmodi fœdera ſint contra Imperatorem, & Imperium, pacemque ejusdem publicam*, Let it be free to make confœderacies, provided that the ſayed confœderacies be not againſt the Emperour, and the Empire, with the publique peace thereof; Nay further, the Princes of the Empire have ſuch a latitude of power that they write *ſe regnare Dei gratiâ*, that they Raign by the Grace of God; And that within the verge of the Empire the Princes Electors are not to give precedence to any other forren Prince, or potentat whatſoever; Therefore when *Charles* King of

Scot-

Scotland, was a few yeers since at *Frankfort*, the Count Palatin of the *Rhin* sent him word that he desir'd to give his Majesty a visit, but by the constitution of the Empire he was not to give priority of place there to any, it being an *Imperial* Town, but if his Majesty wold please to come to any of his own Territories he wold then respect his Majesty in that point accordingly.

The states of the Empire have also a territorial authority, to change their Religion at pleasure, by a late Constitution, where 'tis sayed, *Religionis mutatio est sequela Territorialis Iurisdictionis, ac inhæret Territorio sicut nebula paludi*; The alteration of Religion is a sequele of Territorial Iurisdiction, and is inhærent in the Territory as a clowd in a pond. By what hath bin spoken it appears what a small extent of power the sacred *Cæsarean* Majesty hath over those that professe obedience to him; Nay, when ther is a King of the *Romans* 'tis a question who hath the greater power the Emperour or Hee; For the Emperour and the King of the

Romans may be sayed to be like two Sunnes in one Firmament, the one declining, the other rising, and the later hath more eyes upon it than the former.

By those particulars that have bin pointed at in this Section, a conjecture may be made, if not a judgment, who stands fairest to be the next Emperour; But they who harbour some doubts of the King of *Hungary*, have one shrewd argument that he may go without it, which is his late encrease and amplitude of power, for he hath not only the large Kingdom of *Bohemia* with the great Territories annex'd thereunto now as hereditary by way of conquest, but ther is an ovverture, if not an offer and privat Treaty afoot that the Crown of *Poland* will be entayl'd upon him, and his successors for the future; Though this augmentation of power be good for the Christian Common-Wealth in general, because it enableth the Emperour to bear up the better againgst the Common Enemy the *Turk*, yet not only

only the Electors, but some other Princes of the Empire conceave some jealousie of this enlargement of the Imperial power, not without some apprehensions of fear, that if the Eagle shold renew his bill, and have his *feathers come home* to make his wings *full summ'd* again, hee might seaze upon, and make a prey of sundry Towns, and Territories which divers of the sayed Princes hold from the Empire but by crazy weak titles; Nay it putts a flea in the *Venetians* ear also, who have bin alwayes jealous of the *Austrian* greatnes, in regard of contiguity of Territories they both have in *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, and other places. But it may be well expected that the *Princes Electors* will rather look upon the *generall* good and incolumity of the Christian Common-Wealth, as their Oath doth bind them, which is as astringent, and conjuring kind of Oatn as possibly the witt of man can

draw, or deviſe, for they are not to be transported by any *Pact*, *Price*, *Promiſe*, or *Prayer* in the Election. Which Oath runns thus.

THE

The Solemn Oath thats adminiſtred to the Princes Electors, when they meet for chooſing a KING of the ROMANS, the *Spiritual* having their hands upon their breaſts, the *Secular* upon the book all the while.

EGo R. *Sacri imperii Princeps Elector, juro ad ſancta* Dei E-

vangelia, heic præsentialiter coram me posita, quod Ego, per fidem qua Deo, *& sacro Romano Imperio sum astrictus, secundum omnem discretionem, & intellectum meum, cum* Dei *adjutorio, eligere volo Temporale Caput populo Christiano, id est, Regem Romanorum in Cæsarem promovendum, qui ad hoc existat idoneus, in quantum discretio, & sensus mei me dirigunt, & secundum fidem prædictam, vocemque meam, & votum sive Electionem præfatam dabo absque omni Pacto, Stipendio, Precio, seu Promisso, vel quocunque modo talia valeant appellari, sic me* Deus *adjuvet, & omnes sancti.*

I R. Prince Elector of the Sacred Empire, do swear

ſwear by the holy Goſpell of God put here before me, That I by the Faith wherin I am bound to God, and the holy *Roman* Empire, will chooſe according to all my diſcretion & underſtanding, with the help of God, a Temporal Head for Chriſtian Peeple, to wit, a King of the *Romans* to be promoted to be *Cæſar*, one that may be idoneous for it, according as my diſcretion & ſenſes ſhal direct me, and

according to my foresayed Faith I shall give my Voice, and Vote, or forenamed choice, without any Pact, Stipend, Price, or Promise, or by what names soever such things may be call'd; So help me God, and all his Saints.

This tremendous Oath is pronounc'd in *Latin*, the Language of the Empire in all Negotiations with forein Princes; though the *Electors* be enjoynd by the Great Charter of the Imperial Constitutions, *viz.* the *Golden Bull*, to

to ſpeak the *Teutonique* or High Dutch, the *Italian*, and *Slavonique* Languages.

THE

THE COROLLARY.

THus have we caſt the Roman *Monarchy* as it were into the Eagles egg again, as tis recorded that Homers *Iliads* were once put into a Nuttſhell, and as Falconers obſerve the Eagle can leſſen her ſelf into a Lark by her high *Soaring*, ſo we may ſay the *Roman Monarchie* hath leſsn'd her ſelf by her *ſtooping*.

Therefore this ſmall volume is not unſuitable unto Her in point of proportion as the caſe ſtands with Her now, being ſhrivell'd from

a large *Folio* to a *Decimo sexto*, and mouldred away from a Caſtle into a Cottage, or rather from a Mountain to a Mole-hill. Such is the Method of the all-ruling *Providence* with whom the greateſt Kingdomes are but as Kittle-pins which he tipps down at pleaſure.

Ludit in humanis divina potentia Rebus

'T is He who tranſvolves *Monarchies*, tumbles down Empires, and cantonizeth them into petty Common-wealths at pleaſure, whereunto the Pagan Philoſopher ſeem'd to allude when being asked what *Iupiter* did in Heaven? He anſwered *Magnas ollas*

ollas rumpit, et ex fruſtis earum parvulas componit, He breaks great potts, and of their Fragments makes little pitchers; And remarkable it is how ſymbolizing in point of ſence and ſimilitude, the Holy *Pſalmiſt* is with the *Philoſopher* herein, when he ſayeth *Tanquam vas Figuli conteres eos*, Thou ſhalt bruiſe them in peeces (*viz.* the Potentates of the Earth) like a potters veſſel, which ſhews the brittleneſſe, the Lubricity, and unfixedneſſe of all ſublunary things as well *Political* as *Natural*, ſo that to find out a ſtability, and permanence, we muſt travel beyond *Trismegiſtus* circle, and ſeek it in the other World.

To conclude, having thus caſt a few glances upon the *Ro-German*

man Empire, I hope, My Noble Lord, it will ſuffice to quitt me of that obligation I owe to your *commands*, which ſhall be alwayes to me as *Favours*, and I look upon your *Favours* as a conſiderable part of my Happineſ, which makes me delight ſo much in the Character of

Your moſt obedient and ever ready Servant,

Holborn
Calendis Januarii
1658.

Jam. Howell.

Infantium cerebri
Quadrageſsimus.

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Gloria Honor q; Deo ſæclorũm in ſæcula ſunto.
Chronogramma.

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